

Message Text

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ORIGIN PRS-01

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UNCLAS STATE 201508 TOSEC 100098

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS:SOPN (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), XF

SUBJECT:PRESS ITEMS, SATURDAY 8/23

FOR AMBASSADOR ANDERSON FROM S/PRS (FUNSETH)

NO. 9

1. CY SULZBERGER NYTIMES ARTICLE ENTITLED "A PEACE CORPS
FOR HENRY" SENT IN SEPARATE MESSAGE BY WHITE HOUSE SIT-
ROOM .

2. CHARLES YOST HAS HALF-PAGE PIECE ON WASHPOST EDITORIAL
PAGE ENTITLED "TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDEAST."

HIGHLIGHTS: IF INTERIM AGREEMENT IS REACHED, ALL
CONCERNED DESERVE TO BE CONGRATULATED.

"WE SHOULD HAVE NO ILLUSIONS, HOWEVER, THAT AN AGREEMENT
IN THE SINAI SOLVES THE PROBLEM OR EVEN BUYS MUCH TIME.

THERE IS NOTHING IN IT FOR SYRIA AND JORDAN WHOSE
TERRITORIES ARE STILL OCCUPIED; FOR THE PLO WHICH WANTS AN
AUTONOMOUS PALESTINIAN STATE; OR FOR OTHER ARAB NATIONS
WHICH HAVE A RELIGIOUS INTEREST IN JERUSALEM AND A
POLITICAL INTEREST IN PALESTINE."

NOR DO OTHER INTERIM STEPS SEEM LIKELY. CONCLUSION THERE-
FORE THAT THOSE NOT TOUCHED BY SINAI AGREEMENT NEED
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FURTHER MOVE "AND THAT THE ONLY FEASIBLE RECOURSE WILL BE

TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE WITHIN THE NEXT TWO
OR THREE MONTHS."

NOT EVEN THE SOVIETS ARE ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT GENEVA, "THEY ARE A LITTLE LEERY OF ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR AN ENTERPRISE WHICH IS SO COMPLEX AND MIGHT EASILY FAIL." ISRAELIS WOULD COME TO GENEVA IF PROCEDURES CAN BE WORKED OUT, "BECAUSE CONSEQUENCES OF NOT COMING MAY BE EVEN MORE UNACCEPTABLE ... THE SOVIETS ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND PRUDENT, AS I BELIEVE THEY ARE PREPARED TO BE IN THIS CASE, IF THEY ARE INSIDE RATHER THAN OUTSIDE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS."

WHETHER THE CONFERENCE BROKE INTO SEPARATE GROUPS TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, OR REMAINED MERELY A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS TAKING PLACE IN CAPITALS, "IN EITHER CASE THE PROCESS MIGHT BE PROTRACTED, BUT IT COULD PROBABLY BE CONTINUED EVEN FOR TWO OR THREE YEARS AS LONG AS THERE WAS EVIDENCE THAT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE AND THAT A STALEMATE SUCH AS DEVELOPED BETWEEN 1 67 AND 1973 WAS BEING RIGOROUSLY EXCLUDED."

"THE CONCEPTION OF A PALESTINE STATE, EMBRACING MOST OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA, IS FORTUNATELY ONE TO WHICH ISRAELIS ARE BECOMING INCREASINGLY RECONCILED. THE CHARACTER OF ITS GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, IS A MATTER OF SUPREME IMPORTANCE TO THEM, SINCE A HOSTILE REGIME CHEEK BY JOWL WITH THEM, CONDUCTING GUERRILLA WARFARE AGAINST THEIR CITIES AND KIBBUTZIM, WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY INSUPPORTABLE.

"FINALLY THERE IS THE QUESTION OF INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES, ABOUT WHICH THE ISRAELIS ARE PROFOUNDLY SKEPTICAL THOUGH THEY GRANT THEM SOME MARGINAL VALUE AS A COMPLEMENT TO, NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR, 'SECURE BOUNDARIES' AND A STRONG DEFENSE FORCE. THE ARABS, CLAIMING THEY HAVE AS MUCH NEED OF GUARANTEES AS THE ISRAELIS SINCE THE LATTER STARTED BOTH OF THE WARS OF 1956 AND 1967, ARE ON THE UNCLASSIFIED

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WHOLE RECEPTIVE TO THE IDEA.

"I SUSPECT THAT, IF AND WHEN ISRAEL IS EVER PERSUADED TO WITHDRAW FROM MOST OF THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, SHE WILL BECOME MORE INTERESTED IN GUARANTEES. IN THAT CASE I WOULD SUGGEST A THREE-TIERED ARRANGEMENT: FIRST, UNEQUIVOCAL BINDING PEACE AGREEMENTS OR TREATIES BETWEEN ISRAELIS AND ARABS; SECOND, ENDORSEMENT AND GUARANTEE OF THESE AGREEMENTS BY THE UNSECURITY COUNCIL, INCLUDING PROVISION FOR DEMILITARIZED ZONES

OCCUPIED BY UN FORCES COMPOSED OF CONTINGENTS FROM COUNTRIES UNLIKELY TO WITHDRAW THEM UNDER PRESSURE; THIRD,

A BILATERAL TREATY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL
WHEREBY THE FORMER WOULD BIND ITSELF, IN CASE BOTH
PARTIES JUDGED AN IMMINENT THREAT TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY
EXISTED, TO SEND U.S. FORCES TO ISRAEL'S ASSISTANCE.

A BARE INVENTORY OF THESE REMAINING ISSUES SHOWS HOW
ARDUOUS AND PROTRACTED ARE LIKELY TO BE NEGOTIATIONS AT
GENEVA OR ELSEWHERE BEFORE A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE CAN BE
ACHIEVED. YET THE ALTERNATIVES - EITHER NEGLECT OF THE
PROBLEM OR A PROLONGED DEADLOCK - ARE TOO DANGEROUS
TO BE TOLERABLE. "

MAW

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